

Rural Settlement in Iron Age Cessetania (Northeastern Iberian Peninsula): Characteristics and Socioeconomic Role

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Abstract

Recent research has demonstrated the importance of rural settlement in the Iberian culture, although there are still few rural sites explored in depth. 'Rural settlement' is the term we use to designate the small habitation sites or agricultural structures that became common from the Middle Iberian Period (450–200 BC) onward; such sites constituted the basis of a hierarchical settlement system characteristic of societies developing towards archaic states. These settlements consist of one or two buildings together with silos and/or artisanal features. The main difficulty in studying such sites is their poor preservation. They are usually located on flat areas suitable for cultivation, and research has traditionally prioritised the study of larger sites. In this study, we revise the data from previous investigations in the territory of ancient Iberian Cessetania and present the results of recent research, paying particular attention to the Rabassats site. We compare these rural settlements to those in other nearby territories in the Iberian area as well as in the wider Mediterranean context. Detailed analyses of the remains of rural sites show a greater complexity than is often assumed and suggest that a variety of small settlements, from an economic and probably also from a social point of view, should be included under the generic heading of 'fourth order'.

Keywords: farm, Iberian culture, Iberian Peninsula, Iron Age, rural settlement

Introduction: Northeast Iberian Society and Settlement in the Iron Age

The Iberian culture developed at the end of the sixth century BC on the Mediterranean fringe of the Iberian Peninsula and extended into the south of France as far as the River Hérault. This period down to the second and first centuries BC is commonly known as the region's Iberian Period, the term being both a chronological and a cultural reference. The culture was made up of different peoples whose approximate territorial distribution and limits are described in classical sources, particularly Ptolemy (*Geography* 2), Strabo (*Geography* 3) and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 3).

Archaeological research indicates that these peoples were organised into state-like political and territorial entities (Sanmartí 2004; 2014), some of which took the form of a hierarchical settlement system with at least four 'levels' of sites having distinct functions and of different sizes (Asensio *et al.* 2001; Grau Mira 2003). At the head of the system were the first- and second-order centres, of an urban nature and covering several hectares (5 to 10 ha for the first-order settlements, exceptionally reaching 18 ha in the case of Ullastret, and less than 5 ha for the second-order sites, down to 1 ha) (Sanmartí *et al.* 2020). Third-order sites, meanwhile, were less than 1 ha in extent, and had a variety of functions: some were villages and rural settlements with specialised economic functions, whilst others, such as fortified settlements, were related to the control of the territory and served as residences for local elites. Fourth-order rural sites of 1000 sq m or less were mostly unknown until the 1990s, but there is now abundant data available. As with the third-order group, 'fourth-order' is a catch-all term that covers sites with different functions, but knowledge of this category is key to understanding the socioeconomic organisation of the Iberian proto-states. These sites are the focus of the present paper.

Research into the settlement of the north-eastern Iberian Peninsula spans several decades, and ancient Cessetania has been privileged by archaeological research (Figure 1). Macroscale studies began in various territories in the 1980s and continued during the 1990s, mainly through surveys (Miret *et al.* 1984; Carreté *et al.* 1995; Guitart *et al.* 2003), while research on a micro-spatial level prioritised the study of fortified settlements known as *oppida*, which were primarily located on hills. The study of rural settlements on the plains was particularly difficult: as farming expanded in these low-lying areas over the centuries this encroached on or even totally destroyed Iberian sites. Moreover, such settlements lacked defensive systems, and their small size made them more difficult to detect. Consequently, in most cases there are too few remains for interpreting them from a functional perspective. It was not until the 1990s, particularly following the growth of rescue archaeology, that the first excavations began of what were clearly rural sites in the plains (Guitart *et al.* 2003; Asensio 2015b).

A similar situation was seen in other areas. In France, it was only from the 2000s onwards, and again mainly within the framework of rescue archaeology, that abundant evidence of rural plains settlement by the Gauls began to be documented (Mazière and Ropiot 2015). In the case of the Punic culture, research has also traditionally focused on urban centres; nonetheless, more attention has been paid to the countryside in the last two decades (Gómez Bellard 2003; van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008: 12-14; 2014; Pardo Barrionuevo 2015), and fieldwork projects have multiplied in different territories, such as Sardinia (e.g., Díez Cusí *et al.* 2011; Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2010), Andalusia (e.g., Ferrer Albeida *et al.* 2020) and Ibiza (Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2011). In all these contexts, researchers have analysed the relationship between the towns and the countryside (e.g., Stiglitz 2003; Roppa 2013).

Despite limitations, however, recent surveys have shown the abundance and importance of



Figure 1. Palaeoethnological map (simplified) of the study area (main map: after Belarte *et al.* 2020b: 7, fig. 1; modified Map of Europe: Google Maps).

small rural sites in the different territories of the Iberian culture. The number of excavated sites, though, remains small. As Grau Mira (2014) observes, despite the recent interest in survey and landscape archaeology, Iberian case studies are underrepresented in comparison to other regions of the Mediterranean, particularly the areas that

were Punic-influenced. Moreover, although international publications exist for some territories, particularly for the present-day Valencian region (Bonet Rosado *et al.* 2008; Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño 2015; Grau Mira 2019), there are almost none for present-day Catalonia, with the exception of the work of Asensio (2015b).



Figure 2. Location of the sites mentioned in the paper, indicating the area enlarged in Figure 3: 1. El Pontarró; 2. Rabassats; 3. Masies de Sant Miquel; 4. El Vilar; 5. Tarakon; 6. Alorda Park; 7. Turó de la Font de la Canya; 8. Les Guàrdies; 9. Mas d'en Gual; 10. El Fondo del Roig; 11. Els Manous; 12. L'Argilera; 13. La Carronya; 14. Sota l'Era d'en Soler; 15. Les Albardes; 16. Font dels Igols; 17. Valls de Foix; 18. Hortes de Cal Pons; 19. Burriac; 20. Turó dels Dos Pins; 21. Can Miralles/Can Modolell; 22. Can Segarra; 23. Can Bartomeu; 24. Can Grandia/Ca l'Esteban; 25. Cal Ros; 26. Mas Català; 27. L'Hostal; 28. Puig Castellar; 29. Can Calvet; 30. Can Xercavins; 31. Ca n'Olivé; 32. Edeta; 33. Kelin; 34. La Fonteta Ràquia; 35. La Rambla de Alcantarilla; 36. El Zoquete; 37. L'Hort de la Torre; 38. El Teular de Mollà; 39. La Serreta; 40. Corral d'en Guardiola (map background: Microsoft Bing aerial map). The size of the circles reflects the site characteristics: large circles refer to first-order towns (> 5 ha), medium circles refer to second-order settlements (ca. 1–5 ha), and small circles refer to third- (less than 1 ha down to just above 1000 sq m) and fourth-order (1000 sq m or less) sites. The colours reflect the different areas considered: blue circles refer to Laetania, orange to Cessetania, green to Edetania and red to Contestania.

We present here an updated synthesis of the results of previous investigations by different researchers (including the present authors), and add our recent research in the Cessetania region, paying particular attention to the Rabassats rural site (Nulles, Tarragona) as a case study and including in our sample the previously unpublished site of Els Manous (El Catllar, Tarragona). These data show the heterogeneity of the architectural forms of this group. Asensio (2015b) had already noted differences within this category and made a distinction between

'rural manor houses' and 'farmhouses or isolated exploitation units' for the northern Iberian area (Figure 2). In keeping with this idea, we intend to look in greater depth at the functions and socioeconomic roles of this group of sites.

Agriculture and Livestock Production in Northern Iberia

The economy of the Iberians was based on agriculture and animal husbandry, consistent with that of other ancient societies (Hanson 1999: 7)

and later ones up to the industrial era (Wolf 1966: 12; van Dommelen 2019b: 1). Research into rural settlement in these societies is therefore key to understanding their economy, ways of life and social organisation. This subject has recently been addressed by archaeological and historical research, both for the Iron Age (IA) (Rodríguez Díaz and Pavón Soldevila 2007; Cowley *et al.* 2019) and for later periods (van Dommelen 2019a).

There are no written sources that refer to agricultural and livestock farming in the Iberian world. In contrast, archaeological evidence is extremely abundant for this area and has given rise to numerous publications (e.g. Mata Parreño and Pérez-Jordà 2000; Mata Parreño *et al.* 2010; Valenzuela-Lamas *et al.* 2011; Prats *et al.* 2020; Nieto-Espinet *et al.* 2021). This evidence consists of consumption remains (mainly seeds, fruit and animal bones), storage (in large pottery containers or in underground silos), agricultural tools and implements used for food processing (mills, mortars, etc.) or other activities (spinning and weaving).

The palaeobotanical record in the study area indicates a diet based on cereals (especially barley—*Hordeum vulgare*), legumes and fruits, including the cultivation of grape vines and olive trees from the early IA (Alonso 2002; Buxó 2008; López Reyes *et al.* 2011; Alonso and Pérez-Jordà 2019). Of these, cereals and legumes constituted the basis of Iberian agriculture, while fruit-tree cultivation developed particularly in association with colonial contacts (Buxó 2008; Pérez-Jordà *et al.* 2017). The faunal remains show a predominance of caprines (sheep and goats) followed by bovines and pigs as the main species (e.g., Valenzuela-Lamas 2008; Nieto-Espinet *et al.* 2021). From the sixth century BC onward, there are signs of an intensification in the exploitation of agricultural resources, with a consequential increase in production. This is reflected in, among other factors, the growth in silo capacity (López Reyes *et al.* 2011: 84; Prats *et al.* 2020). These changes were probably related

to technological innovations, such as the appearance of rotary mills (Alonso 2002) and the use of iron for agricultural tools, which increased during the Middle Iberian Period (fourth and third centuries BC) (Belarte *et al.* 2020a: 133). Another indicator of this intensification is the proliferation of rural settlements from the second half of the fifth century BC onwards, with a period of maximum diffusion and exploitation of the territory during the third century BC.

Rural Settlement in Cessetania in the Middle Iberian Period (Fourth and Third Centuries BC)

The ancient sources (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 3.4.21; Ptolemy, *Geography* 2.5) tell us that the Cessetani inhabited the central Catalan coast between the Garraf Massif in the north and the mountains of Prades, Serra de l'Argentera and Coll de Balaguer in the south (Figure 3; see also Figure 1, above).

Despite the intensive archaeological research conducted in this area from the 1980s (Miret *et al.* 1984; Sanmartí and Santacana 1986) to the present day, our knowledge of the different types of settlement is very uneven (see Supplementary Material). The first-order settlement that would have acted as the capital—Tarakon or Kese—is practically unknown, because Roman Tarraco and the present-day city of Tarragona were built over it. Nevertheless, the remains documented at different points in Tarragona suggest that, during the Iberian period, it could have been an urban centre of some 9 ha. There are smaller towns (second-order settlements), such as El Vilar in Valls—also very poorly known because the present-day town overlaps with the site—and Masies de Sant Miquel in Banyeres del Penedès, where recent research has confirmed the existence of an urban centre covering 3.5 ha. The best-known settlements are those of the third order, which include Alorda Park in Calafell, a fortified citadel that functioned as an aristocratic residence, and Turó de la Font de la Canya, which specialised

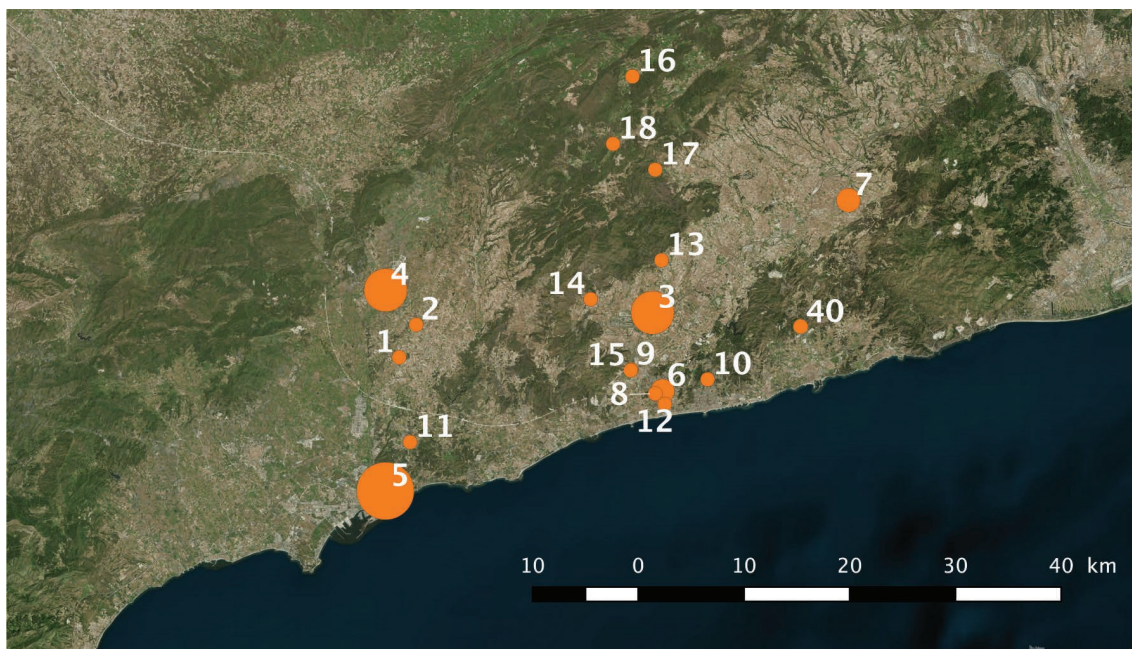


Figure 3. Location of the sites of the Cessetanian area (map background: Microsoft Bing aerial map). The size of the circles reflects site size and order: large circles refer to first-order towns (> 5 ha), medium circles refer to second-order settlements (ca. 1–5 ha), and small circles refer to third- (less than 1 ha down to just above 1000 sq m) and fourth-order (1000 sq m or less) sites.

in the accumulation and management of cereal resources and consisted of a habitation and an extensive silo field. This last site, although rural in nature, is significantly larger (about 1 ha) than the farmsteads discussed in this paper.

Numerous small ‘fourth-order’ sites dated to the Middle (fourth and third centuries BC) and Late (second and first centuries BC) Iberian periods have been documented in all the areas surveyed in this territory. They have been identified by small concentrations of pottery, sometimes together with building remains, although the latter are usually very poorly preserved (Guitart *et al.* 2003: 129–57; López Vilar *et al.* 2011: 378–80). The dataset indicates a dense and scattered rural occupation.

Rescue archaeology has played an important role in the detection and excavation of some of these settlements, such as Les Guàrdies (Figure 4), Fondo del Roig and Les Albardes, all discovered during the construction of the

C-32 highway that runs parallel to the Catalan Mediterranean coast, or Mas d’en Gual and Els Manous, which were located during housing development projects in El Vendrell and El Catllar, respectively.

Some rural sites that have been extensively excavated in Cessetania are Les Guàrdies, Mas d’en Gual, El Fondo del Roig, Els Manous and the recently explored site of Rabassats, which is described in detail in the following section (see Figure 3, above, and Figure 5, below). Although some of these sites have been published to some extent, the pottery quantifications and bioarchaeological analyses remain mostly unpublished. To these we should add some limited work at sites in the Baix Penedès region, such as L’Argilera, La Carronya, Sota l’Era d’en Soler, Corral d’en Guardiola and Les Albardes. With the exception of L’Argilera, for which there is a published monograph that includes a study of the archaeological finds, the information on



Figure 4. Aerial view of Les Guàrdies (photograph by Antoni Rigo).

these sites is very limited. Small excavations, mostly rescue archaeology test pits, have taken place in some cases, such as at Sota l'Era d'en Soler and La Carronya. These excavations have confirmed their period of occupation but provide sparse additional information about the nature of the preserved structures (if any), most of which are the fragmentary remains of walls and one or two silos.

At Corral d'en Guardiola, the remains of a building with several rooms have been documented, but their poor state of preservation does not allow the reconstruction of their total dimensions or an interpretation of their functions (see Supplementary Material). This is also the case for El Pontarró, near present-day Tarragona, where a rescue excavation documented a silo that probably belonged to a rural settlement. Finally, several specialised pottery production sites have been documented, especially around the headwaters of the river Foix; these include Font dels Igols

(Pontons/La Llacuna), Valls de Foix (Torrelles de Foix) and, especially, Hortes de Cal Pons (Pontons). All in all, these data provide a good basis for understanding the characteristics of rural settlement in this area between 450 and 200 BC.

In contrast to Corral d'en Guardiola, there are a number of locations where extensive excavation has yielded significant information about the function of the site. One example is Els Manous (El Catllar) (Figure 5.2), where there are the remains of a single building constructed in successive phases and reaching a total floor area of 700 sq m. Twenty-four rooms intended for different functions (residential/domestic, storage, processing of agricultural products) have been documented. The site was devoted to the agricultural exploitation of the surrounding area, as evidenced by ten silos. It was occupied from the beginning of the third century BC and was abandoned at the end of the second century BC.

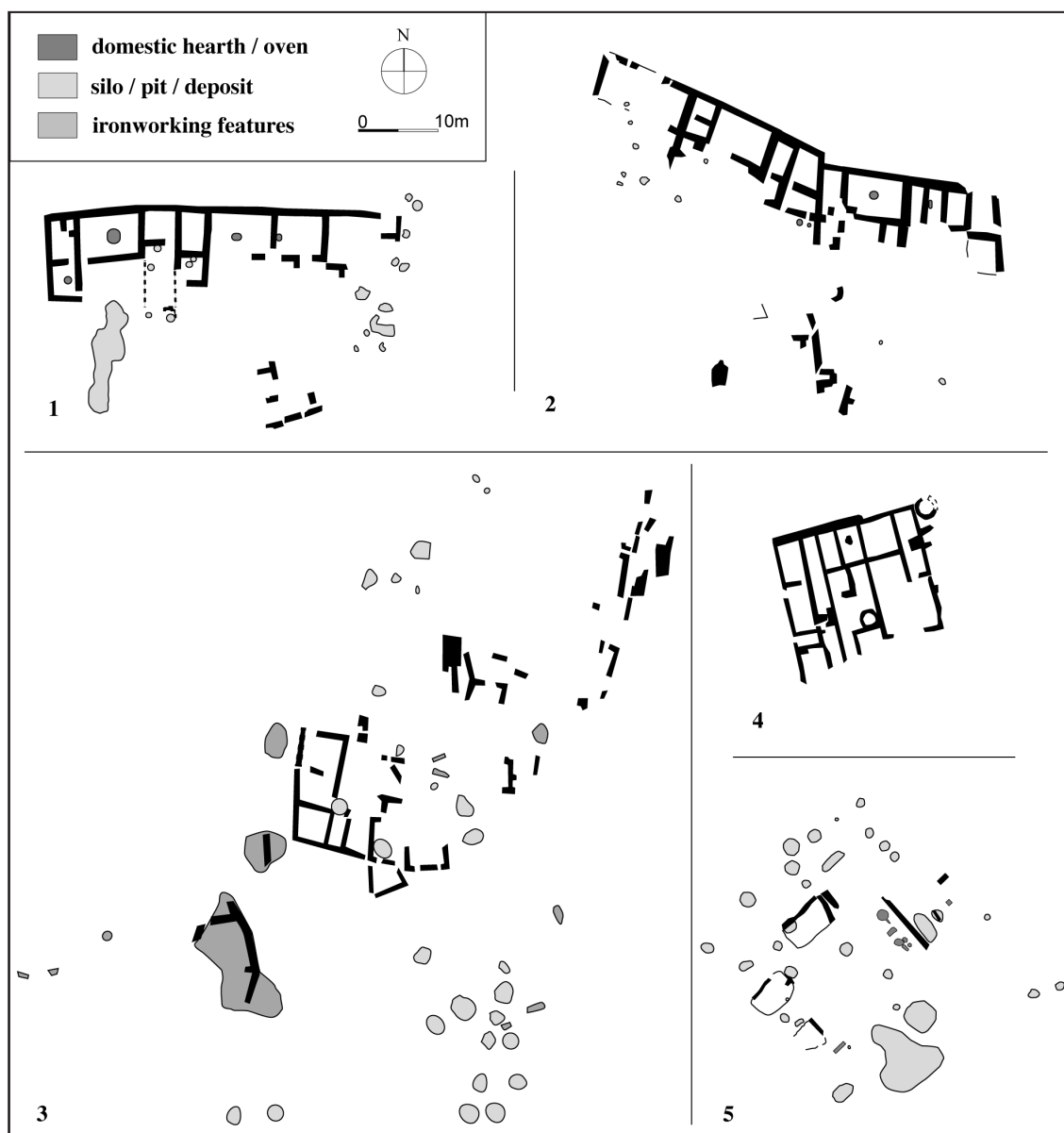


Figure 5. Schematic plans of the main buildings and main features of the best-documented rural sites in Cessetania: 1. Rabassats (drawing by the authors); 2. Els Manous (drawing by the authors after Díaz 2009); 3. Les Guàrdies (drawing by the authors after Morer and Rigo 2003); 4. Fondo del Roig (drawing by the authors after García *et al.* 1996); 5. Mas d'en Gual (drawing by the authors after Asensio *et al.* 2005).

At Les Guàrdies (El Vendrell), two phases were documented within the Iberian Period, corresponding to *ca.* 450–200 BC and *ca.* 200–50 BC (Figure 5.3, and see Figure 4, above). The remains of former phase include a group of rooms that occupied an area of 850 sq m, as well as a set of structures related to iron metallurgy and 28 silos. The metallurgical activity is of special interest, as a range of different stages of iron production was documented, including open-air ore mining points and furnaces for ore processing, smelting and smithing. This specialist economic activity shared space with the storage of agricultural products in silos. The habitation spaces, however, are poorly preserved. The excavation of some of the silos yielded bioarchaeological information, including the palaeobotanical remains of cereals, legumes and fruits, together with a faunal record consisting predominantly of caprines (sheep and goats) and much lower percentages of cattle and pigs; horses and deer were also documented (Valenzuela-Lamas *et al.* 2010).

El Fondo del Roig (Cunit, Baix Penedès, Tarragona) (Figure 5.4) was built in the early fourth century BC and abandoned by the end of the third century BC. It consists of a single building with a rectangular floor plan and 16 rooms organised around one or two courtyards, the southern end of which has been destroyed; the preserved floor area is 360 sq m. The northern part has been interpreted as a residential area, while the southern sector (with several open spaces and some silos) was probably a workshop or storage area.

Mas d'en Gual (El Vendrell) (Figure 5.5), also has two phases of occupation—dated to the third century BC and to the second and first centuries BC, respectively—and similar characteristics. It consists of several dwellings, 19 silos and various structures linked to iron working, such as ore extraction pits and metallurgical furnaces.

Much less can be said about many other sites, including the other aforementioned ones. In most cases, it has only been possible to document

the limited remains of walls and silos that were probably linked to smaller settlements of short duration. They mostly dated to the third century BC. As a result, it is rarely possible to estimate the size or function of buildings on these sites; it is usually also impossible to exclude that they were part of a larger site. Sites that have revealed more limited data are summarised in the Supplementary Material, but not described in detail.

As regards the sites with evidence of pottery production, seven pottery kilns and associated structures for clay processing and amphora storage have been documented at Hortes de Cal Pons (*ca.* 450 BC). This suggests both that there was a specialisation in this fourth category of rural sites and that each functional group probably played a specific economic role in the territory of Cessetania.

The Rural Site of Rabassats: A Farm and Its Environment in the Cessetania Area

In this general context of sparse data, the recent excavation of the Rabassats rural site sheds new light on the subject, and is thus fundamental for our understanding of the economic and social functioning of this territory. The site was discovered during the *Ager Tarraconensis* survey carried out between 1985 and 1990 (Carreté *et al.* 1995: 200). In 2012 it was included in a research project undertaken by the Catalan Institute of Classical Archaeology (ICAC) and it was completely excavated between 2013 and 2017.

The most significant feature of the site is a building of approximately 400 sq m that was built in two successive phases (Figure 5.1, above; see also Figures 6, 7). The earlier western half is relatively well preserved, while the eastern half attached to it has been largely destroyed. The western part has a rectangular-shaped structure with several rooms organised around a courtyard (Sector 2b). From the courtyard, it was possible to access all the rooms in this west wing (Sectors 1–4), which were otherwise not connected. An earlier occupation phase was also preserved

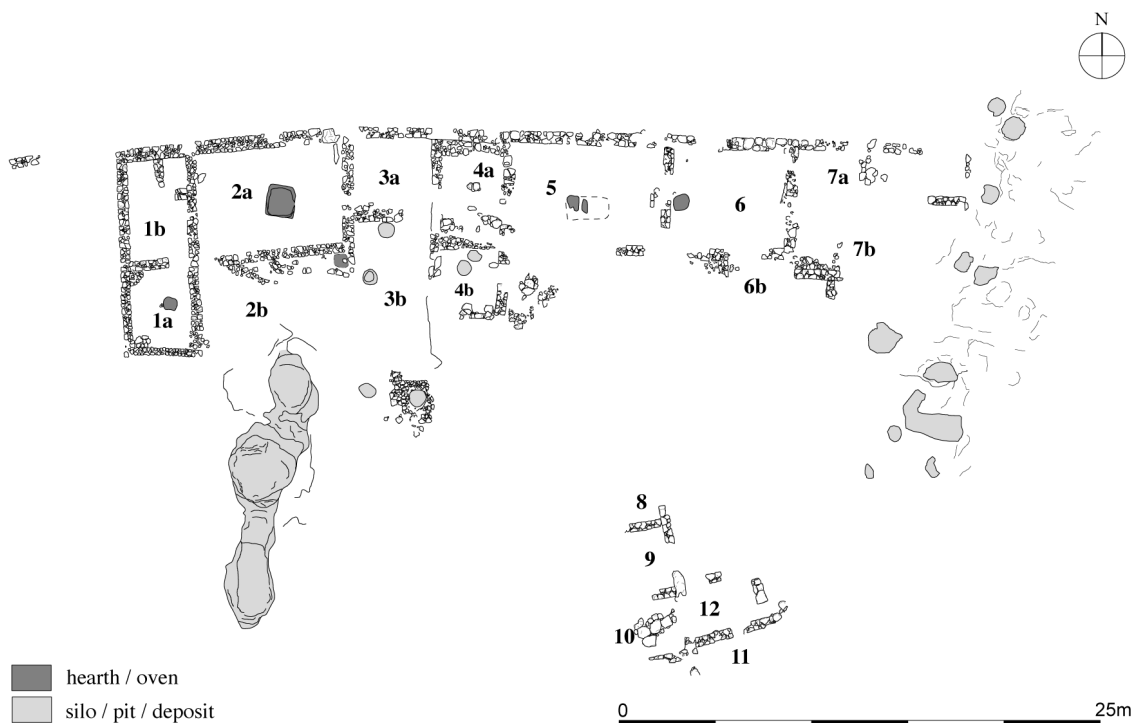


Figure 6. General plan of the structures of the main phase of the Rabassats rural site (drawing by the authors).

in this wing. Sector 1 is divided internally into two areas: Sector 1a was probably used for food processing, whilst Sector 1b could have served as a pantry (Table 1). Immediately to the east, Sector 2a, with a large central hearth, probably had a residential function. In Sector 3, several large pottery containers and two silos indicate a storage function. In addition, to the south of Sector 3 and outside the building, there were two more silos.

Immediately south of the courtyard is a set of three connecting deposits dug into the ground, probably intended for the storage or decanting of liquids, perhaps in connection with craft activities. Micromorphological analysis of a sediment sample suggests that these structures were used to store water (we thank Mercè Bergadà for this information).

The preserved remains of the eastern wing of the building, which were made up of four rooms, are not sufficient to infer their functions,

except for Sectors 4 and 5. Sector 4, compartmentalised into two spaces, was probably used for storage and craft activities. Sector 5 has a large central hearth, which suggests a residential function similar to that of Sector 2a in the west wing. Sector 6 was a food-processing area, perhaps also used for craft activities. Sector 7, finally, has been largely destroyed (Figure 8; see also Figure 6, above).

Based on the archaeological remains overall, a certain measure of specialisation in the use of space can be proposed for the different rooms in this building (Figure 8; see also Supplementary Material). Approximately 15 m south of Sectors 5 and 6 are the remains of another set of rooms (Sectors 8–12), poorly preserved, whose dimensions are much smaller than those of the main complex. A series of irregular pits was identified to the east of the built-up area that may correspond to basins for artisanal activities, waste pits or the extraction of building materials.



Figure 7. Aerial view of the main building at Rabassats (photograph by J. Noguera).

Table 1. Summary of the main features of the areas that make up the main building of Rabassats.

Sector	Floor area	Features and finds	Function
1	29 sq m	A small hearth, a stone paved area, two querns, a stone podium in a corner	Food processing / pantry
2	35 sq m	A large hearth (1.5 × 1.5 m)	Residential
3	38 sq m	Two silos, large pottery containers	Storage
4	25 sq m	A silo and two pits, several loom weights, a spindle whorl	Storage / craft activities
5	37.5 sq m	A large hearth (2.5 × 1.5 m)	Residential
6	30 sq m	A small hearth, iron slag	Food processing / craft activities
7	-	-	-

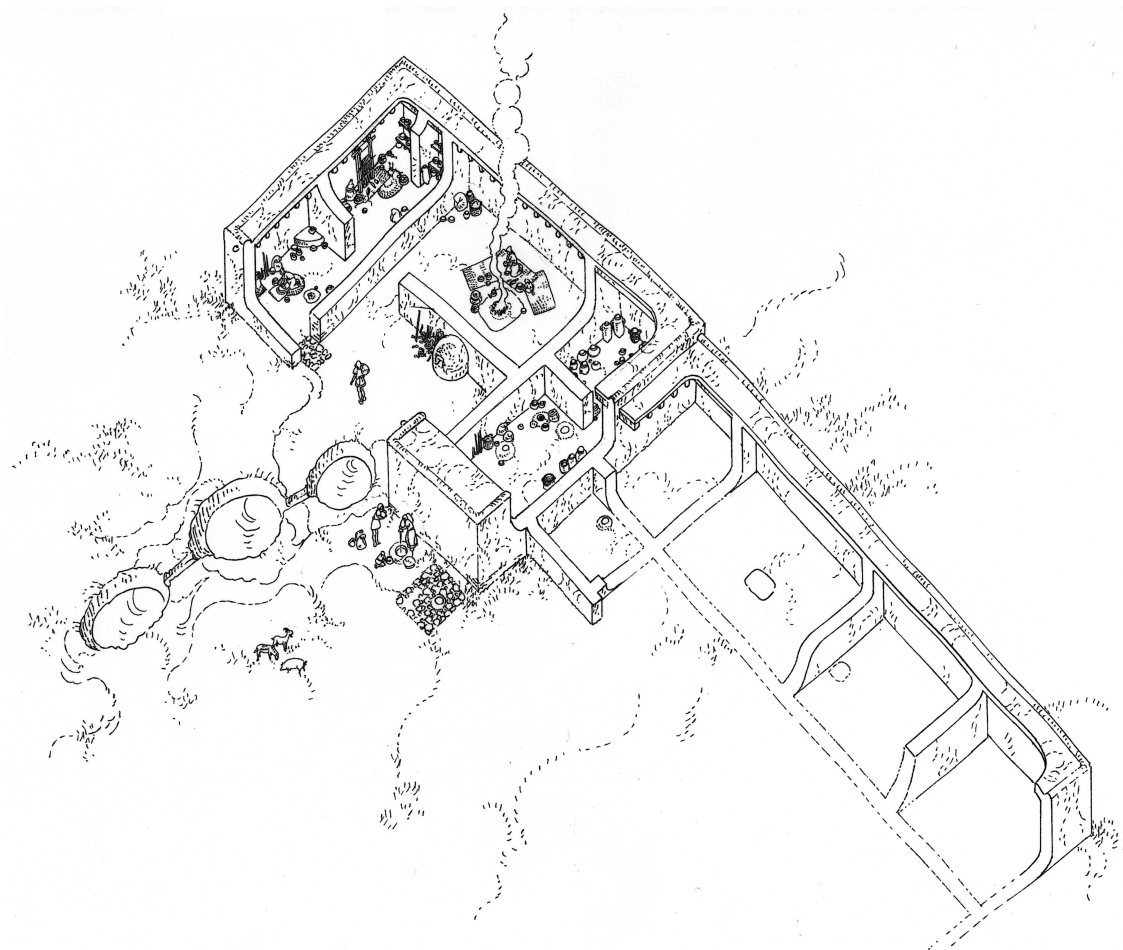


Figure 8. Architectural and functional reconstruction of the main building at Rabassats (drawing by F. Riart).

The excavation yielded abundant finds, mainly pottery (Figure 9) but also fragments of saddle querns, loom weights and spindle whorls, as well as a very small number of bronze objects (a fibula, a ring), iron slag and a glass bead. The pottery assemblage consists mainly of locally produced wares, with few imports (only 2% of all sherds). The so-called common Iberian oxidised ware predominates with a rich typological variety (Figure 9.10-27) and, to a lesser extent, painted Iberian ware (Figure 9.28-31). A second group consists of local handmade ware, mainly cooking pots (Figure 9.32-34). Although imported materials are rare, their variety of origin is notable (Figure 9.1-9). They

include black gloss Attic, Campanian A and Roses wares, Punic common ware, Massalian amphorae, Punic amphorae from Ibiza and central Mediterranean Punic amphorae. The earliest imports are black gloss Attic products from the end of the fourth century BC. The site was probably founded at that time and was abandoned in the late third or early second century BC, as suggested by a sherd from the base of a black gloss bowl of the Roses workshop type 26 and a fragment of a small Italic black gloss bottle of Morel type 5722 (Morel 1981). Both were found in a destruction level.

We have little information as regards economic activities. The presence of five silos,

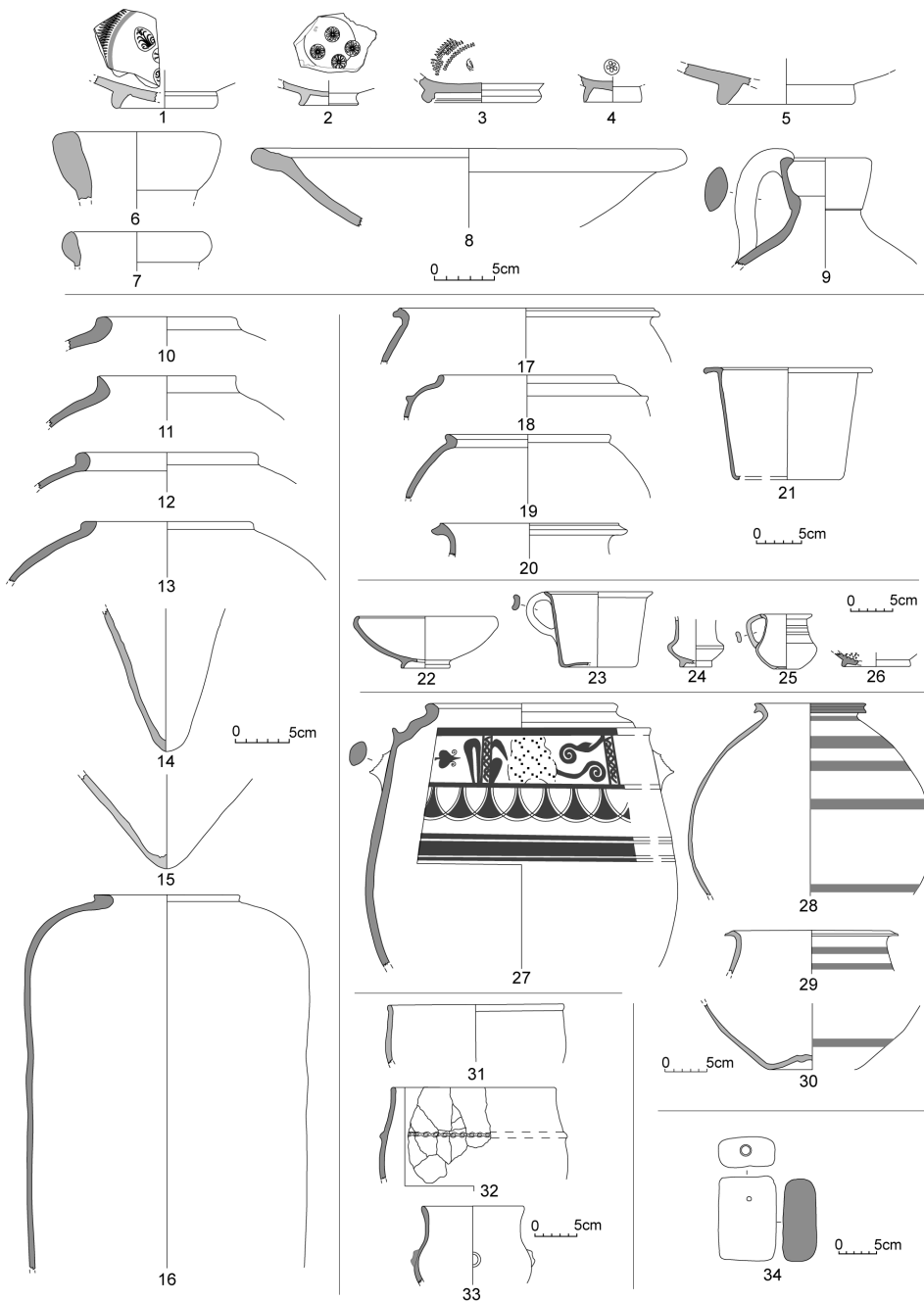


Figure 9. Sample of archaeological finds from Rabassats: 1. Roses workshop '3+1' production; 2. 'Atelier des petites stampilles', possible Lamboglia (1952) 27a shape; Morel types F2784, 2981; 3. Roses workshop shape 42C; 4. Roses workshop shape 26; 5. Attic black-gloss ware, possibly a fish-plate, Sparkes 1970 shape, Lamb 23a, Morel types F1121a, 1121b, 1121c, 1121i, 1122b, 1122c, 1122d, 1127b, 1127c; 6. Massalian amphora Py bd8; 7. Punic-Ebusitan amphora PE17, T-8.1.3.2; 8. Ebusitan mortar; 9. Punic jar 521c; 10-16. Iberian amphorae; 17-20. Iberian large jars; 21. Kalathos; 22-25. Iberian tableware; 26. Iberian mortar; 27-30. Iberian decorated large jars; 31-33. handmade pottery; 34. loom weight (drawing by the authors).

together with the discovery of large containers in some of the rooms, indicates a storage capacity which must have exceeded the needs of the group living in the settlement. Sediment from silos, pits and combustion structures, as well as samples of destruction layers, were systematically sampled by flotation. Unfortunately, the absence of burnt destruction layers has not facilitated the preservation of palaeobotanical remains, and most information about the products cultivated or stored is missing.

However, charcoal remains were nevertheless preserved in the pits, silos, deposits, preparation layers and combustion structures, for the most part probably originating from the cleaning of the hearths. They allow us to reconstruct a landscape similar to that of the present day in the surroundings of the site, which is open and has

been degraded by extensive cultivation (Figure 10). Species indicative of dry farming such as olive trees, vines and monocotyledonous plants have been identified, as well as species typical of the open and shrubby Mediterranean maquis (kermes oak, wild olive, mastic and juniper) and of degraded maquis (winter heather and Labiatae). These are also found around the site today. Taxa from Mediterranean tree species have also been documented. These trees—Mediterranean pine and holm oak—would have grown in wooded areas at some distance from the agricultural fields; there were also typical riverside species like elm, willow, laurel and walnut and mid-mountain species including Scots pine and oak. If anything, the landscape at Rabassats reflects the high level of sophistication and complexity of Mediterranean IA agri-



Figure 10. Google Earth image showing the present-day landscape in the area of the Rabassats archaeological site.

culture. New cultivation techniques increased the capacity for surplus cereal production, together with the growing of legumes, the appearance of new crops and the spread of grape monoculture (e.g., Buxó 2008; Albizuri *et al.* 2011; Prats *et al.* 2020). These changes occurred as a result of an increasing population that needed ever-larger areas of woodland to be cleared (Buxó 2008: 152, Riera Mora *et al.* 2009; Nieto-Espinet *et al.* 2021).

The considerable taxonomic variety is due no doubt to the non-selective use of the different tree and shrub species present in the settlement surroundings. Other taxa came from riverside and forest areas that were quite a distance from Rabassats (Scots pine grows in mountain sectors 20 km away). This variability of species and extraction areas was likely the result of intensive farming in the immediate surroundings of the site, which would have led to a shortage of such resources in the vicinity.

Faunal remains are very scarce (26 bones, not counting 212 belonging to a dog in anatomical association) and are unlikely to be representative of the inhabitants' diet. They include the bones of two adult sheep, an equid (probably a donkey) and abundant malacofauna (*Glycymeris* sp.). The abundance of shells is remarkable, as they are found in most of the rooms and the site itself is some 15 km from the sea. They are specimens with very worn surfaces, probably collected from the beach as raw material or to use as tools for handicrafts.

The shortage of faunal remains may correspond to a preservation problem, but it may also indicate that people's diet was based primarily on cultivated products and that meat played a minor role. It is also likely that little waste would have been generated and what there was would have been rapidly 'processed' by, for example, dogs or other animals. It is worth noting that the low number of faunal remains is a constant recurrence at rural sites (Valenzuela-Lamas *et al.* 2010) and contrasts with those found at larger settlements.

We are able to complement Rabassats with data provided by the excavation of a silo in El Pontarró (see Figure 3, above, and Supplementary Material), about 3 km away. The silo was abandoned in the late fifth or early fourth century BC and filled with debris, including domestic food waste. It has provided information consistent with that from Rabassats regarding the exploitation of the surrounding environment, i.e. great diversity and complexity of forest resources, as shown by the charcoal remains. Three types of cereal were found at this site: dressed barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), bare and durum wheat (*Triticum aestivum* and *Triticum durum*) and possibly Italian millet (*Setaria* sp.), as well as the possible remains of a grape pedicel (*Vitis* sp.).

These data for cereal production are also consistent with those from nucleated Iberian sites, including some located in the eastern part of the Cessetania area. Particular mention should be made of Turó de la Font de la Canya (see Supplementary Material), which was a settlement specialising in cereal storage. This site has provided a large amount of seeds, showing the prevalence of cereal and legume cultivation as well as the importance of fruit production, mainly grapes.

Rural Settlement in Other Areas of the Iberian Culture

Research into other areas of the Iberian culture reveals a similar picture to that described for the territory of the Cessetani (see Figures 1 and 2, above). The Laetani area, for example, on the coast of present-day Barcelona province, has provided abundant information. First of all, some ten small rural sites are on record around the first-order site of Burriac (Cabrera de Mar), which is estimated to have covered an area of around 9 ha (see Supplementary Material). These sites all consist mainly of groups of small habitations with carefully finished interiors and hearths, and it is unclear whether any specific activities took place at these sites other than

farming and storage, as attested by several silos (Zamora 2007; Sinner 2015: 8-13). Some were occupied as early as the fourth century BC (e.g., Turó dels Dos Pins, Can Miralles/Can Modolell), but most date from the third century BC (e.g., Can Segarra, Can Bartomeu, Can Grandia, Can Ros) or even from the second century BC, and in some cases lasted until the first century BC (e.g., Mas Català, l'Hostal, Ca l'Esteban). In the case of two sites (l'Hostal, Ca l'Esteban), there has been some debate over their function as rural settlements (see Supplementary Material).

Secondly, several rural settlements have been documented on the plain near Puig Castellar (Santa Coloma de Gramenet) (see Supplementary Material), a hilltop village occupied from the sixth to the early second century BC. One site is Can Calvet, interpreted as a group of partially preserved houses, although it could also have been a complex rural residence similar to that documented at Rabassats. Seven rooms were excavated, four of which included hearths; the pottery was mainly indigenous and imports were limited to two sherds of Attic pottery datable to the late fifth or fourth century BC. Another possible rural settlement is Can Xercavins (Cerdanyola del Vallès), 1.5 km from the second-order urban settlement of Turó de ca n'Oliver and probably dependent on it. It consists of a small group of rooms together with several silos and a well. As with Can Calvet, it could have been a small village or a complex residence.

Farther south, another territory well known for its settlement organisation is Edetania (see Figure 1, above), with various projects carried out around the ancient towns of Edeta and Kelin. This research has documented small rural sites and also agricultural facilities such as oil mills or rural constructions away from the settlements such as tool huts, shelters and animal pens (Mata Parreño *et al.* 2009; Bonet Rosado and Mata Parreño 2015). An example in the Edeta area is La Fonteta Ràquia (Riba-roja de Túria), a building of 130 sq m consisting of several rooms and a large courtyard from the

third century BC that specialised in beekeeping. In the Kelin area, La Rambla de Alcantarilla and El Zoquete have been excavated (see Figure 2, above, and Supplementary Material). The former is a 150 sq m building from the fifth to third century BC devoted to olive oil and wine production, while the latter, abandoned at the end of the third century BC, is a 300 sq m rural residence with six rooms opening onto a courtyard. Although some of these settlements are only very partially known, they provide information on their related economic activities.

Continuing southwards, in Iberian Contestania (see Figure 1, above), fieldwork has documented dense rural settlement clusters of the Iberian period in the Alcoi Valley, beginning in the sixth century BC and particularly prominent from the third century BC onward (Grau Mira 2014). The excavated examples of L'Hort de la Torre and El Teular de Mollà (see Figure 2, above, and Supplementary Material) preserve the remains of stone and mud-brick buildings, as well as others built of perishable materials. The ceramic record, which includes imported tableware and amphorae, suggests that their inhabitants enjoyed a certain standard of wealth. Together with the pottery, agricultural tools and querns are documented, revealing some level of diversity in their inhabitants' occupations.

Economic and Social Implications of Rural Sites in the Mediterranean Context

Research carried out in recent decades, and the large number of sites documented, have revealed the importance of rural settlement. Given the poor state of preservation as described above and the limitations of the excavated areas, however, most of the sites explored so far have provided little information on either domestic or economic activities, with few exceptions such as Rabassats. A feature common to most of the sites is the presence of silos, suggesting that cereal production and grain storage were among their main functions. Some sites, how-

ever, did not actually have a 'silo field' but only a small group of such structures. In the case of Rabassats, five silos have been documented. Three of them, not strictly contemporary, were inside rooms (two successive silos in one room, Sector 3, and the third one in a different room, Sector 4). The other two, with a larger capacity, were located in an open area. The location of two silos inside a building may have been a way of protecting the subsistence basis at a site that was not protected by walls. The silos inside the rooms had estimated capacities of between 3000 and 4000 l, while the outdoor structures could have contained between 7000 and 9000 l (following Alonso 1999: 216). These capacities are in keeping with the data known for other Iberian sites (Prats *et al.* 2020). According to different researchers, and based on ethnographic data, the quantity of grain necessary to maintain a household (from five to 10 people) for a year was between 1000 and 3000 l (e.g., Prats *et al.* 2020). The Rabassats settlement may have therefore had a surplus for exchange beyond the needs of the household.

In this way, the study of finds—mainly pottery—provides clues as to how the surplus may have been used. Although detailed quantifications of different categories of pottery remain unpublished in most cases, the available information suggests that an element common to all these sites is the low volume of imported finds in comparison to local products (Asensio 2015a). This does not mean that no exotic objects are documented, as is demonstrated by an Attic crater sherd at L'Argilera and a grotesque mask of Punic origin—unique in the Mediterranean context—at Mas d'en Gual. Even if imports represent only a small percentage of finds at Rabassats, their provenance is remarkably diverse, as they came from Punic, Greek and Italic areas. A similar diversity of production is also documented at Els Manous, although no quantitative details are known. Elsewhere, such as in Contestania, small, dispersed rural settlements have also yielded imported fine tableware (Grau Mira 2019).

Such finds suggest that these rural settlements would have produced small surpluses to trade for other goods, including some luxury items. In the particular case of Rabassats, the settlement was probably part of a trading network of goods, most of which would have arrived through the Iberian settlement of Tarragona (Principal 2002). From there, the goods would have been distributed to the second-order centres in the territory, such as El Vilar (Valls), an Iberian town only 5 km from Rabassats (Canela 2015: 205–207), and the villages or smaller rural settlements in its area of influence. They could also have moved along the trade routes to the interior. In this respect, in addition to a key administrative role, regional centres such as El Vilar would also have developed other functions such as that of a market town serving its territory. Farmers from the surrounding rural settlements would have exchanged their surpluses at these markets and would also have had access to imported luxury goods such as black gloss pottery from Attica and elsewhere, as attested at Rabassats and several other rural sites.

The functional specialisation of some of the rural sites, whether in agriculture, mining, metal working or pottery production, suggests a complex organisation and a territorial distribution designed to control natural resources. Such control would probably have been exercised from the first- and second-order sites. However, it is difficult to define the relationship between the rural settlements and these large regional capitals, beyond the probable commercial and administrative links.

For comparison, for the Classical and Hellenistic rural settlements of Greece, Foxhall's (2004) pottery studies have revealed both similarities and differences when compared to larger agglomerations or urban settlements. At rural sites, Attic black gloss pottery is always present, but figurative pottery is not. In addition, fewer forms have been documented, and there is less fine tableware. Storage wares are not prevalent, so that would not have been the main activity in

these settlements. The evidence for weaving also tends to be limited (Foxhall 2004: 260-65).

In functional terms, the northern Iberian regions reveal a different dynamic from that documented in Greece since, whenever detailed information on pottery assemblages is available, storage containers are invariably prominently represented. This is true for the best-known sites in Cessetania, such as Rabassats, Les Guàrdies, Els Manous and Fondo del Roig, although for the last of these pottery finds are very scarce. Moreover, a predominance of storage vessels over tableware is attested at some rural sites in Languedoc (e.g., Larnoux, Saint-Félix-de-Lodez), although the data are once again not abundant (Rascalou *et al.* 2015). This factor is consistent with an orientation intricately linked to cereal production and storage, as suggested by the presence of silos.

Otherwise, bioarchaeological studies do not show clear differences between the plant species cultivated or the animals consumed at the sites. This is especially the case concerning larger agglomerations, mainly *oppida*, as has been observed both in Languedoc (Figueiral *et al.* 2015; Forest 2015) and at sites on the central coast of Catalonia during the fourth and third centuries BC (Valenzuela-Lamas 2008; Albizuri *et al.* 2010; López Reyes *et al.* 2011; Nieto-Espinet *et al.* 2021).

As we have seen, architectural forms and installations are not uniform at these sites. Their diversity is indicative of the great complexity of the Iron Age rural world in the study area, and is reflected in the proposed classifications for different regions (Bonet Rosado *et al.* 2008: 178; Asensio 2015b: 327-31). Nonetheless, it is not always possible to classify the sites into one specific category. First, the archaeological data are often insufficient to define the function of a rural site as either residential or production oriented, a challenge that has also affected the study of other regions, such as Greece (Osborne 1992). It is also often difficult to determine whether a rural settlement was used permanently or seasonally.

In the Contestania area, the characteristics of the structures, built with perishable materials (Grau Mira 2019), suggest a provisional nature; this has also been documented at many sites north of the Pyrenees (in the French Pyrénées Orientales). The remains at such sites consist of a series of boundary ditches, postholes and other evidence of habitation built of perishable materials, together with groups of silos (Mazière and Ropiot 2015). In Cessetania, in addition to the very nature of the buildings, the existence of more than one construction phase in some cases, such as at Rabassats or Les Guàrdies, points to a more permanent nature. The excavation at some sites has revealed that a residential function may also have been important, while others demonstrate specialisation that went beyond farming, perhaps combining crop cultivation or animal husbandry with mining or craftwork. These last activities, particularly metalworking and pottery production, seem to indicate a complete exploitation of the surroundings, as well as a link between the location of the sites and the available resources.

From the data analysed, we can conclude that at least several of the so-called 'rural settlements' correspond to houses of some complexity, with floor areas between 300 and 400 sq m, often organised around an open space or courtyard and associated with economic or artisanal structures, especially silos. They may have been inhabited by a number of people who could have made up an extended family; they could also have corresponded to families with a somewhat higher social status. It is within this latter category that we classify the Rabassats site and, also in the Cessetanian area, Fondo del Roig, which its excavators defined as a farm of notable complexity inhabited by a family unit (see Supplementary Material). The available data suggest that other sites of a rural nature were simpler and smaller, perhaps with just seasonal occupation or belonging to different social groups. The fragmentary nature of the information provided by these sites, however, makes it difficult to determine their nature.

The Iberian rural sites of the type identified in Rabassats have some similarities to contemporary Punic rural settlements. Without intending to suggest a direct relationship (in the study area no actual Phoenician or Punic colonisation is attested, although evidence of trade is abundant), the western Punic world presents several examples consisting of a quadrangular building organised around a courtyard and associated with production structures (wine or oil presses) and cisterns that follow an oriental pattern (Pardo Barrionuevo 2015: 260). They are dated mostly to the fourth to second century BC, although their average size is somewhat larger than the Iberian examples. In Ibiza, where the land is not suitable for growing cereals but can be used for vine and olive cultivation (Gómez Bellard 2008: 66), several such settlements have been documented, including Ses Païsses de Cala d'Hort (*ca.* 900 sq m), Can Corda (some 1000 sq m) and Can Fita (144 sq m) (Gómez Bellard 2008: 52-56). In the south of the Iberian Peninsula, some examples of this type of construction are Cerro Naranja (600 sq m) (López Castro 2008: 72) and SE-M (Ferrer Albeida *et al.* 2020: 90 and fig. 12). Finally, in Sardinia the excavation of sites such as Truncu 'e Molas (Gómez Bellard *et al.* 2010) and Pauli Stincus (Díes Cusí *et al.* 2011) have revealed similar farms of this type.

Other Mediterranean cultures and areas have farms of similar dimensions and structure. A thorough review is not possible here, but some relevant examples are mentioned for comparative purposes. In Etruria, rural sites consisting of a single building organised around a courtyard are documented from the sixth century BC onwards, including Podere Tartuchino (Semproniano: Perkins and Attolini 1992) and Casa delle Anfore (Marsiliana: Zifferero 2010). In Attica, rural constructions around courtyards are also well known in the Classical period; they have areas of around 300 sq m and some appear to be isolated residences. Well-known examples include the Priest's House, Dema House, Ano Liosia, Vari House (Jones 1975) and Thorikos (Nevett 2005).

In short, during the second half of the first millennium BC in the western Mediterranean, we see an intensive occupation of the countryside, which took different forms depending on the needs of the local economy. These probably focused on cereal and vine (and to a lesser extent, olive) cultivation and livestock farming centred on sheep and goats, iron metallurgy or pottery production.

Discussion and Conclusions

Recent research into rural settlement in the Iberian culture has allowed us to refine the characterisation of this type of habitat. The results obtained by our investigation of the Cessetania area are consistent with those recently published for other Iberian territories, in particular Edetania and Contestania. A comparison of several case studies in the Mediterranean reveals the importance of occupation in rural areas, although the archaeological record suggests that the settlements adopted different forms, even in the same area.

In Cessetanian territory, despite the challenges presented by its conservation, the Rabassats site has provided abundant information on daily activities and the surrounding landscape, including the intensive use of forest resources. Some of its characteristics, such as its surface area, the ratio of imports to local production and the functional categories of the pottery assemblages, are shared with other sites in the area, such as Les Guàrdies, Fondo del Roig and probably Els Manous. We may therefore consider these as factors that characterise this type of settlement. Unfortunately, until now the only available data came from the settlements themselves. No geophysical, geomorphological or palynological surveys have been carried out in the area surrounding the buildings and we have no information on the cultivation areas.

Many other questions remain unanswered, particularly about the socioeconomic status of their occupants. Were they landowners? Were

they farming fields owned by the elites? Were they dependent? Unlike for other cultures, such as the Punic world, in the Iberian area no rural cemeteries existed that may provide us with more information about these farmers.

We therefore have to rely on settlement evidence, and the analysis of these buildings is severely limited by the complications of assessing the activities undertaken in many of them. Except for productive structures, such as silos, presses, etc., the taskscape panorama is very imprecise. In that light, Rabassats has been a welcome exception, despite its poor state of conservation, as our study has provided enough information to suggest that there was a functional specialisation in the various rooms (dwelling/processing/storage) (see Table 1 and Figure 8, above). The distribution of these tasks in a structure that appears to be duplicated in the less well-preserved part of the building suggests that it could have been occupied by two related families or an extended household, an arrangement similar to that suggested by the large, aristocratic dwellings at several Iberian agglomerated sites, such as Alorda Park and Mas Castellar de Pontós (Belarte 2008). Some of these sites also have more than one phase. This had been attested at Les Guàrdies and Fondo del Roig and has now been confirmed at Rabassats, indicating non-seasonal occupation and a permanence of several generations. We argue that these sites were farms occupied by extended households that produced their own subsistence and could also have had a small supply of cereals or other products to exchange. Their inhabitants seem to have enjoyed a level of wealth, as suggested by the presence of imports and other valuable items. This suggests to us that they were landowners.

This group of sites shows important differences with respect to larger, agglomerated sites, including the third-order sites specialising in cereal production, and with large storage capacities. One such site was Turó de la Font de la Canya in the Cessetania area, which had at least

155 silos, taking into account its whole period of occupation. Together with this important difference, we must also mention the short duration of most small rural sites. Compared with Turó de la Font de la Canya, which was inhabited for around five centuries (from *ca.* 650 to *ca.* 125 BC), most small rural sites considered in this paper were only occupied for a few generations. In this respect, rural settlements are particularly well-attested in the Middle Iberian Period (fourth and third centuries BC). This suggests a dense occupation of the countryside that we propose was closely linked to the intensification of agricultural production and probably to a demographic increase in that period.

Although there are numerous other sites in the Cessetania area, most of them are poorly known. Their remains suggest they were smaller sites made up of single, simple constructions, sometimes accompanied by silos; they were perhaps occupied seasonally or were the home of less wealthy households. We cannot rule out, however, that some of the temporary installations were initially linked to more stable buildings that have not been preserved. We must also emphasise that only very small areas of these sites have been excavated.

Despite the partial nature of the data, it is quite clear that there were sites with different functions within the large category of 'fourth-order' sites. On the one hand, we have the 'rural manor houses' proposed by Asensio (2015b), which would include settlements such as Rabassats and Fondo del Roig. A second group of sites could have been smaller and probably more temporary farms, even corresponding to a 'fifth-order' type, although there is too little information to be able to define them. Some of these temporary installations could even have been dependent on the larger rural sites. Future archaeological research needs to delve more deeply into the characterisation of this last group of settlements.

The diversity of structures attested at rural sites also indicates that their buildings were adapted to specific economic activities (e.g.,

pottery production, metallurgy, etc.). This could indicate a degree of social specialisation (iron-workers, ceramists) in the Iberian proto-states. At the same time, the uniformity of the bioarchaeological data suggests that every household covered its own basic needs with subsistence activities (agriculture and livestock). It is significant that sites specialised in iron metallurgy, such as Les Guàrdies, also had storage capacity, even if a clear specialisation in agricultural production is not attested until Roman times (e.g., Padrós and Valenzuela-Lamas 2010; Colominas *et al.* 2017; Nieto-Espinet *et al.* 2021). Future research needs to examine more closely whether geographical areas specialised in some of these activities, as has been attested along the headwaters of the Foix River, with a concentration of pottery production centres, and by the iron production sites around El Vendrell. If this geographical specialisation is confirmed, it may indicate a complex settlement organisation, where site distribution was conditioned by the presence of certain resources, not only of fertile lands but also of mineral resources, as has also been proposed for Late Minoan III rural settlement in Crete (Foxhall 2014: 430).

In general, rural settlements constituted the economic basis of the larger fortified agglomerations. The diversity of architectural forms and socio-economic specialisation confirms the existence of a social hierarchy and indicates a close relationship between the rural world and agglomerated sites. All this can be interpreted as indicators of a strong economic and social control exerted from first- and second-order settlements in a state-like organisation, at least during the fourth and third centuries BC.

Supplementary Material

A summary of Iron Age Iberian rural settlements included in this study can be accessed online via <https://journal.equinoxpub.com/JMA/article/view/21980>

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Supplement to Rural Settlement in Iron Age Cessetania (Northeastern Iberian Peninsula): Characteristics and Socioeconomic Role

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Table S1 presents a summary of Iron Age Iberian rural settlements included in the study.

Table S1. Details of Iron Age Iberian rural settlements noted on Figure 3 of the main study, by site number.

site number	Site name	Territory	Date	Category	Archaeological remains	size (sq m)	References*
1	El Pontarró	Cessetania	fifth–fourth century BC	fourth order	one silo		Belarte <i>et al.</i> 2017
2	Rabassats	Cessetania	fourth–third century BC	fourth order	a courtyard building; remains of a second building; two external silos; a large deposit; 11 pits of unknown function	400	Belarte <i>et al.</i> 2020
3	Masies de Sant Miquel	Cessetania	sixth–third century BC	second order	agglomerated site; rampart; houses	30,500	Noguera <i>et al.</i> 2020

site number	Site name	Territory	Date	Category	Archaeological remains	size (sq m)	References*
4	El Vilar	Cessetania	sixth–third century BC	second order	agglomerated site; rampart; houses	20,000–40,000	Burguete and Fabra 1986; Otiña and Vergés 2004; Fabra and Vilalta 2008
5	Tarakon/Kese	Cessetania	sixth–second century BC	first order	agglomerated site; groups of houses (scarcely documented)	90,000	Adserias <i>et al.</i> 1993
6	Alorda Park	Cessetania	sixth–first century BC	third order	agglomerated site; rampart; houses	3,000	Asensio <i>et al.</i> 2005c
7	Turó de la Font de la Canya	Cessetania	seventh–second century BC	third order—specialised economic function	groups of houses; silo field (155 silos corresponding to different phases)	10,000	Asensio <i>et al.</i> 2005a; López Reyes <i>et al.</i> 2015
8	Les Guàrdies	Cessetania	fifth–first century BC	fourth order	several rooms/buildings; 28 silos; structures related to metallurgy	850	Morer and Rigo 1999; 2003
9	Mas d'en Gual	Cessetania	third–first century BC	fourth order	several rooms; 19 silos; structures linked to metallurgy		Asensio <i>et al.</i> 2005b
10	Fondo del Roig	Cessetania	fourth–third century BC	fourth order	one building	360	Garcia <i>et al.</i> 1996; Ferrer <i>et al.</i> 2003
11	Els Manous	Cessetania	third–second century BC	fourth order	one building; 10 silos	700	Díaz 2009
12	L'Argilera	Cessetania	fourth century BC	fourth order	two silos		Sanmartí <i>et al.</i> 1984
13	La Carronya	Cessetania	third–second century BC	fourth order	none		Asensio and Morer 2003: 204–209
14	Sota l'Era d'en Soler	Cessetania	third century BC	fourth order	one silo		Asensio and Morer 2003: 204–209
15	Les Albardes	Cessetania	third century BC	fourth order	fragment of a wall		Morer <i>et al.</i> 1996–1997; Asensio and Morer 2003
16	Font dels Igols	Cessetania	fifth–third century BC	fourth order	pottery kilns		Cardona <i>et al.</i> 2019
17	Valls de Foix	Cessetania	fifth–third century BC	fourth order	pottery kilns		Cardona <i>et al.</i> 2019
18	Hortes de Cal Pons	Cessetania	mid fifth century BC	fourth order	seven pottery kilns and related structures		Cardona <i>et al.</i> 2019
19	Burriac	Laeetania	sixth–first century BC	first order	fortification; rows of houses	90,000	Zamora 2007, with references

site number	Site name	Territory	Date	Category	Archaeological remains	size (sq m)	References*
20	Turó dels Dos Pins	Laeetania	fourth–second century BC	fourth order	group of rooms		Zamora and Garcia 2005; Zamora 2007
21	Can Miralles/ Can Modolell	Laeetania	fourth–second century BC	fourth order	several rooms; 14 silos		Garcia <i>et al.</i> 1981; Zamora 2007
22	Can Segarra	Laeetania	second century BC	fourth order	several rooms; silos		Pérez-Sala and Cela 1995; Pérez-Sala and Rovira 1995; Zamora 2007
23	Can Bar-tomeu	Laeetania	second century BC	fourth order	rooms; 30 silos		Pou 1992; Garcia and Zamora 1993; Zamora 2007
24	Can Grandia	Laeetania	third–first century BC	fourth order	several rooms; 14 silos		Martí 1978; Banús 1991; Zamora 2007
24	Ca l'Esteban	Laeetania	first century BC	fourth order	several rooms and silos		Garcia and Zamora 1993; Pujol and Garcia 1982–83; Martín and Garcia 2007; Zamora 2007
25	Cal Ros	Laeetania	third century BC	fourth order	one silo		Zamora 2007; 2008
26	Mas Català	Laeetania	second–first century BC	fourth order	several rooms; six silos		Pérez-Sala and Garcia 2002; Martín and Garcia 2007
27	L'Hostal	Laeetania	second century BC	fourth order	several rooms silos; a well; a deposit		Cela <i>et al.</i> 2002; Martín and Garcia 2007
28	Puig Castellar	Laeetania	sixth–second century BC	third order	agglomerated settlement; village	3,000	Sanmartí 1992: 20–25
29	Can Calvet	Laeetania	late fifth–fourth century BC	fourth order	several rooms		Gili and Rigo 1992: 103–12
30	Can Xercavins	Laeetania	sixth–third century BC	fourth order	several houses; silos; a well		Francès and Carlús 1995
31	Ca n'Oliver	Laeetania	sixth–first century BC	second order	agglomerated site; rows of houses; rampart; silos	18,000	Francès <i>et al.</i> 2005
32	Tossal de Sant Miquel / Edeta	Edetania	fifth–second century BC	first order	agglomerated site; rows of houses	10,000	Bonet Rosado 1995
33	Los Villares / Kelin	Edetania	sixth–first century BC	first order	agglomerated site; rows of houses		Mata Parreño 1991; Mata Parreño <i>et al.</i> 2001

site number	Site name	Territory	Date	Category	Archaeological remains	size (sq m)	References*
34	La Fonteta Ràquia	Edetania	third century BC	fourth order	a building; beehives	130	Jardón <i>et al.</i> 2009
35	La Rambla de la Alcantarilla	Edetania	fifth–third century BC	fourth order	a building; presses; an olive mill	150	Pérez Jordà 2000; Mata Parreño <i>et al.</i> 2009; 2016
36	El Zoquete	Edetania	third century BC	fourth order	a building	300	Pérez Jordà <i>et al.</i> 2007
37	L'Hort de la Torre	Contestania	second century BC	fourth order	a building (perishable materials)	33.75	Roselló and Cloquell 2008–2009
38	Teuler de Mollà	Contestania	second–first century BC	fourth order	postholes (several huts)	700	Ribera 1990–91
39	La Serreta	Contestania	fifth–second century BC	first order	agglomerated site	60,000	Llobregat <i>et al.</i> 1992; Grau Mira 2002
40	Corral d'en Guardiola	Cessetania	third century BC – first century AD	fourth order	a building with several rooms; four silos		Morer <i>et al.</i> 1996–97

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